Kazak

*563 The Kazakhs are
361
231 pastoral nomads, herding sheep, goats, horned cattle,
342 horses, and camels. Felt tents are used in the summer, but
221 most Kazakhs live in mud huts in the winter or, in mountain
[436] country, in log cabins. Sheep and goats are the economic staple
[262] and serve as the units of exchange value. Poorer people live more
on milk and cheese than on mutton; wealthier herd-owners eat
[291] more mutton. Sheepskins, tanned with the wool on them, are used
for clothing; cotton textiles, used for lighter clothing or as a facing for the skin clothing, are acquired in trade. Felted wool is
[825] used to cover the round, conical-roofed tents. The horse, formerly
important in war, is honored in Kazakh folklore for its beauty,
[276] bravery, and faithfulness. In modern times the wealthy keep herds of mares in order to be able to drink *kumis*, made by fermenting mare's milk.

*563 Like all pastoral nomads of Inner Asia, the Kazakhs have al-
361 ways had some acquaintance with agriculture. Rich men some-
463 times hire Uighurs or Chinese to cultivate grain for them on suit-
221 able land; on the other hand, poor Kazakhs, whose herds are not
241 large enough to sustain them, turn their herds over during the summer to richer clan relatives and work at cutting and storing hay or at cultivating grain or potatoes.

*563 Like other nomads, also, the Kazakhs do not wander planlessly.
221
[618] Summer pastures belong collectively to a group of families form-
361 ing a clan, identified by a common ancestor (real or fictitious);
these pastures lie within a larger territory in which jurisdiction
[592] is claimed by the larger unit, the tribe. Winter quarters more commonly belong to a single family, often the "large family" of several generations living together. The chief migrations are in spring, from winter quarters to summer pastures, and in autumn, from summer pastures back to winter quarters. The most hazardous migration is in spring, when herds are weak after the winter, when lambs are being born, and when spring blizzards may cause heavy losses.

Good winter quarters are much harder to find than good summer pastures; shelter and food must be in close combination. Hence the scarcity of suitable winter quarters rather than the amplitude of summer pastures determines the total population capacity of a nomad territory. In practice the wealthy families

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1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

India. The silkworms are fed on leaves from mulberry trees grown along the roadsides; there are also a few groves of wild mulberry. In recent years the Russians attempted to improve quality by importing eggs of the Baghdad, Oro, and Ascoli varieties. Silk production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942, but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

The basic producing unit in oasis agriculture is the family group living together under one roof. This group often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. In Central China (Wukiang) an average farm family consists of four persons,[18] in North China (Paoting) of six persons,[19] in Northwest China (Kansu) of 6.87 persons.[20] A field survey in Khotan showed 7.95 persons, and in Kashgar a typical family consisted of an old couple, two sons, and three daughters-in-law. In the tiny oasis of Kumish a similar family consisted of parents, three sons, two daughters-in-law, and a daughter and her husband, or nine in all.

While farms in the Tarim Basin average from 4½ to 6 acres in size, larger than the 4.2 acres given for China proper,[21] the larger size of the families means, in Khotan for instance, only .58 acres per capita as against .68 acres in China proper.

There are many farms, of course, which are much smaller than the overall average. The field survey referred to above, covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, showed that the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the largest farm was 18 acres. A further breakdown of the figures shows that rich peasants in this group of sixty-five households had average holdings of 11.1 acres, middle peasants 5.7 acres, and poor peasants 2.8 acres.[22] The farms of the poor peasants are too small for the

[18] Fei Hsiao-tung, *Peasant Life in China*, New York, 1939, p. 29.

[19] Farm survey conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences, Academia Sinica.

[20] Farm survey conducted by the National Resources Commission of China.

[21] Geo. B. Cressey, *Asia, Lands and Peoples*, New York, 1944, p. 84.

[22] Uighur farmers, however, do not measure their land by its size but in terms of the amount of seed which can be sown on it. The Uighur measure for this purpose is the *charak*, which varies both from place to place and according to the seed measured. In Kashgar, the *charak* equals 24 pounds of

preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family. The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul. A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals, on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led by a chieftain whose title is bäk, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led by one of the bäks of the great auls. Several clans together form a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a declined clan only has the function of an aul.

A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people by stating that he belongs a)to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended family). For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

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THE FAMILY

I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

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S N 592 593 over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N 595 709 Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

S N 779 829 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

S 121 592 In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S 592 563 Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S 595 563 S [562] [152] S 563 [162] [587] Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

563 /Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

592 The focus of the family is on the sons, who above all provide
562 the continuity of the family, and also aid the family economically
before they establish their own households. Among the lower
[565] classes, daughters also often are very desirable. There is always
a chance that a daughter, particularly if she is good-looking, will
bring a wealthy husband to the family. The family expects nothing
[582] of their son after the age of 15 or 16 when he marries and sets up
a household for himself.

A statement can be made, applying particularly to the seden-
563 tary Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang, that the relationships within the
592 family are not as fixed and close as they are in China proper.
593 This is due mainly to the factor that the institution of the family
182 as a whole is loosely bound and unstable. Membership in the fam-
ily nucleus changes often with the frequent conclusions and dissolu-
tions of marriages. A great degree of permanency exists among
the agricultural population, but most of the city-dwellers are sub-
ject to constant permutations.

563 The Islamic relationships between husband and wife are the
593 basic patterns existing in Sinkiang, but they have been modified by
178 local customs, and are less rigid and extreme in severity.

593 The husband-wife relationships are not based on equality, legal
562 or otherwise. The differences in the family positions of the hus-
563 band and wife are mainly a manifestation of the general attitudes
toward men and women in Islamic society. A woman is considered
a weak and irresponsible being, who is subject to impulses and
whose behavior is largely irrational. Man, being the superior of
the two, is given the authority and place of importance within the
[671] family. Islamic law, which established the man as leader and
[799] head of the family, obliges him not to misuse his power and to be
generous to those who depend on him. In practice, the prerogatives accompanying the husband's superior position are often abused for his own advantage.

In Sinkiang the women's position is not as low as in other Moslem centers. The wife enjoys some rights which give her a certain degree of independence and freedom. Under certain circumstances, which will be discussed later, she can obtain a divorce on her own initiative, and she has some property rights. According to Islamic law her foremost obligation is to respect and honor her husband. Obedience to the husband is stressed in theory but is not as fully practiced. Women here participate in economic life to a greater degree than in most Moslem countries, and have some rights themselves. Consequently, they also enjoy a better social status. The Moslem women of Sinkiang appear with their husbands in the presence of male visitors, while in other Moslem countries they are forbidden to appear in the presence even of their husband's father or his elder brother. In Sinkiang a woman frequently leaves the house unaccompanied, without asking the

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 early age, and during their stay at home they are occupied in different phases of the household.

563 592 565 184 The families of the lower classes often comprise economic units, particularly among the farmers, artisans, and small merchants. The family as a whole is engaged in the economic tasks of gaining a livelihood. The father trains his sons to assist him in his profession, and eventually to take over and inherit their father's place. The father thus need not hire any assistants, but gets the necessary aid from his own family. Usually one son stays with his father, while the others, when they are old enough to establish their own households, go and seek their fortunes elsewhere. But while belonging to the nuclear family, all the sons participate in the economic activities.

The well-to-do families do not, as a rule, comprise such units of production. Some of the sons may be studying and training for future positions as officials, while others may actively participate in their father's business.

563 592 565 184 86 [801] Most families in the lower brackets, i.e., the majority, cannot afford to send their sons to schools; they cannot afford the fees, nor spare the time in which their sons might be participating in the economic activities. Thus the family takes upon itself the additional tasks of educating the children and teaching them the religious customs and rituals, and social manners. The child learns how to perform the most basic rituals of the Moslem religion, to recite a few prayers in Arabic, and to behave according to the local social customs and standards.

563 602 Larger kin groupings are hardly existent among the Turkic sedentary population of the Northwest. Since the family unit's ties are so loose, it is impossible to maintain relationships with relatives who do not belong to the immediate family. No ties of everyday life keep them together, and no economic obligations are required from relatives, other than the most immediate ones. In the well-to-do families, there might be some additional ties involving property and inheritance, but otherwise there is little closeness in the relationships of the members of the clan.

563 593 684 [593] [586] [587] The immediate family is the only social unit to which the individuals feel loyal and attached. However, under the circumstances, these attachments are not too strong. This may constitute one of the main reasons that adultery and lack of loyalty to a spouse are not as severely regarded as they are by the orthodox Moslems. With the loose laws of marriage and divorce in Sinkiang, many incidents of possible adultery are prevented because the husband and wife are able to attain a legal separation and remarry. Where cases of adultery do occur, the women are the main subjects for punishment. The husband of an adulteress is entitled to punish his wife and to cease to treat her kindly. There is not much that a woman can do to a man if he has switched his loyalty.

563 whether he is going to take all the children, only the boys, or none
586 at all. If the wife has to take care of the sons, the husband is required to pay toward their maintenance.

563 The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage
369 tie undoubtedly bear hard on the women in towns, who have no sec ir-
586 ity in their home life. They are subject to divorce at any time, and then may be left with no proper alimony to take care of their needs. The men are given great freedom to act according to whim. Cases are frequent where husbands have legally deserted wives, leaving them with one or more children to look after and insufficient or no maintenance. Conditions are better in the country; but even in towns the position of women is somewhat better than in most other Moslem societies.

III. Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang

121 A. Family Organization

59 Among the nomadic Turkic Moslems of the Northwest the pat-
182 tern of family organization is somewhat similar to that of the
563 sedentary Turks, with two major distinctions; (a) there is an ele-
184 ment of stability in the family institution of the nomads, in spite of the existent facility for dissolving marriages and contracting new ones, and (b) the influence of Islam is not nearly as strong as it is among the sedentary peoples. These differences are manifested in all aspects of family life, including its nuclear structure. The family unit consists of a man, his wife, and their unmarried
563 children. Cases of divorce and temporary separations are much
586 more rare than among the sedentary Moslems, and consequently
184 the divorcee or separated daughter that often belongs to the sedentary family is absent in the nomadic family. Each family occupies
563 its own tent. The tents of the married sons generally are close
592 to their parents' tent, and close contact between the various house-
342 holds is maintained.

In size, nomadic families equal those of the sedentary popu-
563 lation. Many children, especially sons, are considered a mani-
592 festation of God's blessings. Due to the way of life and dependency
[162] on economic cooperation the relationships within the family are
[184] maintained on a much closer basis. The wife shares much more actively in the economic burden. She takes care of the house, milks the animals, utilizes their products in many different ways (milk products, hides, wool, etc.). The husband's life is less burdened by economic tasks: taking care of the cattle, guarding them, setting the camps, selling, bargaining and hunting. The
[593] relationship between husband and wife is not as greatly influenced by the edicts of Islam. The women are less subject to the complete authority and mercy of their husbands, and to limited social contacts.

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 [369] [434] Children and parents relationships differ also. They are characterized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children. [868] The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc... they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relationship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance to her husband's family.

563 592 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation. It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help of their children and it is rare that their children would be able to become economically independent. Moreover, the family framework provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for the individuals comprising it.

563 184 562 583 [586] B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar, women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper. Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) however, girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be 563 584 expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a [583] leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which precedes it.

563 585 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans, milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues

problem is no longer one concerned with opposition to pan-racialism (i.e., Great Hanism), but rather how to cooperate with the... Chinese in struggling for the building of a free big family and in opposing petty nationalism and the saboteurs of national solidarity." (JMJP October 2, 1951).

3. Up to the end of 1953, it was reported that there were a total of 2,800,000 organized peasant households in the Northwest, or 45 per cent of the total number of peasant households (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). The bulk of the number of organized peasants were in the interior provinces, while in Sinkiang only 33.8 per cent of the peasant households were organized. Not only the percentage in Sinkiang, but also the average percentage of the whole of the Northwest, compared rather unfavorably with the 77.32 per cent in Inner Mongolia.

The figures on Table 4 are numbers of farming households in the Northwest, which were organized into farmers associations and into mutual aid teams up to December, 1953, based on statistics appearing in the Communist press. (Figures in parentheses are computed from percentages given of the total).

4. An important factor, too, was the special position of Soviet Russia in Sinkiang. Soviet authorities had succeeded in gaining a foothold in Chinese Turkestan during the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai and later in the political vacuum attendant upon the withdrawal of Nationalist influence in 1948-49. Soviet troops were stationed at strategic points and Soviet party and consular officials actually held the reins of power. Soviet interests were confirmed in the treaty signed between Peking and Moscow in February, 1950, to which were attached two codicils providing for the organization of two joint stock companies for Soviet exploitation of the oil and mineral resources in Sinkiang (not excluding the possibility of the mining and shipment of uranium ores to the Soviet Union). To implement these agreements, large numbers of Soviet experts arrived to set up machine works, power plants, and to assist the Chinese in the work of geological survey, veterinary and medical research, the operation of trucking lines and state farms, cotton production, insect eradication and sheep-raising (NCNA interview with Burkhan, Kuang-ming Jih-pao, September 27, 1955). In the face of Soviet domination of Sinkiang, it was difficult for Communist China to assert its rule, except nominally, in that remote province.

It was with the death of Stalin that there was, ostensibly, a reappraisal of Soviet relations with Communist China. During the visit of Nikita Khruschev and Nikolai Bulganin to Peking in October, 1954, the pattern of Sino-Soviet partnership was readjusted to make it more palatable to the ego of the Chinese leaders. In regard to Sinkiang, one of the five agreements reached as a result of the Peking talks was for the sale of Soviet shares in the two joint stock companies to Communist China, transforming them into

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Table 4. ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANTS IN THE NORTHWEST UP TO DECEMBER, 1953
(Based on Communist statistics)

	Total Population (1953 census)	Organized Farming Households Number	Percentage of total farming households	Mutual Aid Teams	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Number	Percentage of Total No. of Teams	Agricultural Producers Cooperatives	State Farms
Northwest China	35,358,000	2,800,000	45 %				305	
Shensi	15,881,000	1,424,800	47 %	280,848	34,381	12.2%	234	93
Kansu (including Ninghsia)	12,929,000		45 %	194,400	19,400	10 %	32	50
Ninghsia (721,000)			53 %	13,615	2,535	16 %	19	-
Chinghai	1,677,000	96,000	52.3%	25,106	1,840	7.3%	10	-
Sinkiang	4,874,000	299,000	33.8%	51,600	(2,500)	5 %	10	-

512

161 About two-thirds of the total area of Sinkiang is uninhabited.
311 In 1946 the number of farm households was 344,000 and the average number of acres per farm was around 7.1. (Cressey, Land of the
[114] 500 Million, p. 105. This figure, according to other sources, is rather high.. These sources give a figure of from 0.5 to three acres per farm.) The total amount of cultivated land was 2,455,000 acres or roughly one per cent of the total acreage of the region. The greatest concentration of population is south of the Tienshan, or more precisely, in the southwestern corner of the province near the Soviet border. These are the districts of Khotan, Aksu, and Yarkand which contain over two-thirds of the population of the whole province. North of the Tienshan, the greatest concentration is in the Ili valley.

243 According to the figures supplied by Owen Lattimore, the
433 annual wheat crop of Sinkiang before the Communist conquest was about 253,000 tons, about forty-four per cent of the total crop of grain, beans, and seeds. Corn reached 331,000 tons or twenty-eight per cent. Rice was about 71,000 tons or six per cent, and sesame, rapeseed, and linseed accounted for 71,000 tons or six
[244] per cent. Barley, kaoliang, sorghum millet, beets, and peas amounted to 119,000 tons or ten per cent. Millet, soybean, and green beans totalled 71,000 tons or six per cent. Total agricultural output was 916,000 tons. (Pivot of Asia, p. 167.)

243 Winter wheat is grown north of the Tienshan where, in spite of the cold, the seeds are protected by the cover of snow; only spring wheat can be grown south of the Tienshan, where lack of snow cover exposes the seed to being frozen in the ground. Wheat is tending to be displaced by rice in oasis fields because the fields are highly alkaline. But the yield of rice is lower than that of corn, because the Uighur farmers do not transplant the young rice
[461] shoots as Chinese farmers do. Although the amount of labor
[433] expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in China Proper, the yield is somewhat less.

248 Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang. It was grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618 - 907). Two varieties are raised: the native and the American. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, seventy-three per cent with native cotton and twenty-three per cent with seed
288 of the American varieties. Silk is also an ancient crop of com-
433 mercial importance. Its production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942 but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

592 The family group, living together under one roof, is the basic
241 producing unit in oasis agriculture. It often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. While farms in the Tarim Basin average from
[423] 4.5 to six acres in size, larger than the 3.5 acres given for China Proper, because the family in Sinkiang is larger, there is only

S 592 241 423 0.58 acres per capita as against 0.68 in China Proper. It is difficult to obtain a picture of the land tenure system because of the lack of data. But according to a field survey referred to by Owen Lattimore covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the largest farm was eight acres. A further breakdown revealed that S [184] rich peasants in this group had average holdings of eleven acres, middle peasant 5.7, and the poor peasants 2.8 acres. In the area where this survey was conducted, it seems that the farms of the poor were too small for the efficient use of draft animals and there was the problem of efficiently employing, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family. (Pivot of Asia, p. 169.)

S 311 313 4. Forestry

There is forest land in the rich Ili valley but it is questionable whether much timber can be exploited without serious damage to the soil. Since much of Sinkiang is desert and wasteland there are few forest reserves; out of the total Sinkiang area only about five per cent is forest land.

C. Kansu, Shensi, Ninghsia, and Chinghai

N 133 134 [243] 1. The setting

J. L. Buck refers to this part of the Northwest as the spring wheat and winter wheat-millet area. In the spring wheat area (northern Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi) high hills, small mountains, and narrow irrigated valleys characterize the best agricultural land. But along the great wall in Shensi, Ninghsia and Kansu are many undulating sand dunes extending from ten to seventy miles both northward and southward. When the Mongols occupied this region, these dunes were covered with grass and shrubs, but where the Chinese settled here, they cultivated the slightly more fertile land in the depressions between the dunes; once the grass was destroyed the winds blew the sand so as to make farming impossible and other nearby good soil was covered with the blowing sand. Grass in such land can seldom be resodded, and it is thus that land once useful, at least for pasture, is now entirely destroyed.

N 133 134 243 The winter wheat-millet area (southern Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi) extends over a great part of a loess-covered plateau, a high, dissected peneplain, carved largely from red or purple sholes and conglomerates, covered with deposits, largely lacustrine, and blanketed by wind-blown dust, known as loess, which varies in thickness from about twenty to more than 150 meters. The fields in this region are very irregular and small, and most of the surface is so eroded that cultivation is difficult and much terracing is necessary.

N 132 The climate is cold, dry, and windy in winter. The typical precipitation is low, about fourteen inches, and exceedingly

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this oasis on his son, Chagatai, and Hami has never ceased to be ruled by a succession of Khans, who at the present day are wise enough to recognise the suzerainty of China, and thus avoid the friction which would be caused by any rebellious policy. At a little distance stood another walled city which contained the Chinese Yamen barracks and garrison, and where a good portion of the Chinese population reside. Outside, between and around these two enclosures, were the busy streets and covered bazaars, forming a business quarter for both Chinese and Turki. Some splendid parks, through which ran a wide canal, flanked the Huei Huei [1] city. Every available acre of land adjacent to the town was used for intensive market-gardening, and beyond this, to the very edge of the oasis (which stretched seven miles to north and south, and five miles to east and west), the land was brought under cultivation by Turki farmers.

As usual, we took the first opportunity of calling on the wives of our landlord. They occupied certain inner courtyards, well furnished and decorated with flowers both cut and growing. The harem contained the regulation number of four wives, and a goodly company of children, as well as a widowed relative and her daughter.

The girls wore gay dresses made in one piece, slit at the neck by a hole, through which the head passed, and which was then tied in on either shoulder. Even the smallest girls wore their dresses to the ankle. A veil, usually of white muslin, but in some cases made of coloured silk, covered the head and fell to the knees. It concealed the hands, and when in mixed company was held up and adroitly manipulated, so as to be drawn across the face or withdrawn at will. The women's

[1] Huei Huei, the Chinese word for Moslem.

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244 grows to enormous size, and varieties of the little '*tien kwa*,' '*mien kwa*' and '*hsiang kwa*' were here, as in China, prime favourites with the Chinese. Melon cultivation has been carried by the Kumulik to a fine art. On a sandy or stony patch the plants are so trained as to allow each fruit to rest upon a dry, sand-baked spot, where it absorbs the heat of the torrid rays. The grower must work ceaselessly in his garden, watering, pruning and training the tendrils, and when the fruit has come to perfection he and his assistant never leave the tiny lodge from which they watch their precious merchandise, even taking it in turn to sleep. When the fruit is still quite young and the skin soft, each melon is branded with the grower's monomark, and when ripe this mark stands out in bold relief, white and hard.

793 One day we took a good consignment of Arabic gospels and tracts in our cart, and with the Chinese 291 Evangelist went to pay some calls in the Huei Huei 482 city. As we entered the gate we were met by an old white-bearded Ahung in a white turban and long gown. By his side walked a tall and beautiful woman in a pale blue cotton dress and white veil, who carried a water-pot on her head. The whole picture was so reminiscent of Galilean scenes as to cause us a momentary shock as we realised that this was not Nazareth but the 'shameful city of Camul'—for thus did Marco Polo refer to this oasis of the desert.

● 592 As usual the women asked us to their houses, and where there was a difficulty with the language it always seemed easy to find an interpreter, for the Moslem frequently adds a Chinese wife to his harem, and many of the people are bilingual. The rooms in which we 352 were received were not unlike those of the Chinese, 576 only that the *kangs* were much lower and unwarmed,

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and covered with handsome carpets. In accordance with the custom we took off our shoes before mounting them. The family wardrobe was kept in handsome, inlaid boxes, and on the tables stood large brass dishes which served to hold the national dish of 'pillau,' as well as brass and copper pots for purposes of purification.

In every house there were several wives and many children. The number of inhabitants of such cities as stated on maps and in surveys is seriously underrated, the extraordinarily rapid increase both by the number of children born and by colonisation having brought the population to a much higher figure than statistics allow.

After visiting a few homes, we proceeded to view a remarkable willow tree which is reckoned as being one of the sights of Hami. This plant presents a congeries of about fifty trunks, curiously gnarled, knotted, and intertwined, and yet all are said to grow from one root, having spread so as to fill several courtyards. After duly admiring this wonder we returned to the cart, and when we had taken our seats, opened our parcel of books. In a moment the word went round, and we were the centre of an excited crowd of boys, each of whom wanted to buy a volume. Experience of the bold and insolent Moslem schoolboy, however, had taught us to be wary in dealing with them, so before we allowed one copy to be purchased the Evangelist explained that on every page the sacred name of 'Huda' (God) was written, which must on no account be treated with disrespect. Nevertheless, for as long as the store of books lasted, we sold them as fast as we could hand them out to both old and young alike, and when the last was gone the demand for more was so persistent that the driver was obliged to whip up